190 BOTHER, *v.t.* To annoy; to approach sexually with or without the object's willingness; to meddle with something; to disturb; to coerce.
BULLSHIT, *n.* Nonsense; a lie.
CAN'T, *id.* Will not; won't; may not; don't want to, as, "I can't do that."
GRUB, *n.* Any food received from white source other than meat.
HE, *pron.* He; she; it.
HIM, *pron.* Him; her; it.
LOTS, *adj.* Many. As, "Lots of people."
MUST BE, *id.* Probably.
NEVER, *adv.* Not for some time, as, "I never hunt"; not ever.
NEWS, *n.* Unfavorable report, as, "to hear his news"; gossip; information.
NOTHING, *n.* Anything; as, "I never see nothing"; no.
PACK, *v.t.* To carry; to load, as, "to pack dogs"; to steal; to carry off.

196 Obviously all of these as well as all other words carry specific connotations for the Kaska which are sometimes different from their meanings in American speech. Thus a word like "lots," denoting "many," may be used to refer to a group of ten persons with the emotional expression that we would reserve for a mob of hundreds.

191 Several cases of speech defect were noted. One girl, eight years old, stuttered slightly. A young man was pointed out as speaking little and as being unable to command the communication of sentences of any length. The defect was regarded with amusement and was even joked about in the young man's presence. Cases of deafness and mutism were also reported.[10]

195 For insults and vituperation, recourse is generally had to English. The use of such terms is stilted, as though there were no clear realization of their meaning. In situations of emotional stress, delivery is more rapid and under such conditions speakers also manifest a tenseness of the body, including the face, which affects the vocal cords.

201 The Kaska Indians are not a gesticulating people, and the number of socially patterned gestures are relatively limited. Anger is expressed by frowning and by a narrowing of the eyes; shame and embarrassment, by covering the face with the hands and turning away the head. The latter gesture is most common among girls, being rarely used by boys and men. The explanation offered for the gesture was that the feeling of self-consciousness and shame is so intense that the individual does not want others to see her face. Affection, particularly between young people, either of the same or opposite sex, is generally expressed tactually but not by kissing. When the ethnographer's two year old daughter sought to kiss Ann Wiley (6), the latter demurred and cried, "Shame!" When the attempt was repeated, Ann sought to distract the younger girl by calling her attention to something else. Mirth and exuberance (the latter rarely) are released in infectious laughter. Acute hostility may be expressed in refusing to talk to, or look upon, a person, as well as by a sullen, dark facial expression. These are the most common signs used to communicate emotional states, although there are other socially patterned means for the individual to express more personal emotional states. Further discussion of emotional expression is reserved for a later section.

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[10] See also the discussion of linguistic theory, below, p. 230.

484 vessel covered with a tarp. If goods must be unloaded from a boat before reaching the final
destination of a journey, they are stored on the shore and, if rain is expected, placed on
poles and covered with a tarp. In contrast to the absence of farewells, greetings are warm.
[576] People meeting in Lower Post after a winter's absence in the bush always shake hands with
expressions of pleasure.

152 Indians are usually enthusiastic about travel. The same anticipation and pleasure marks
484 a family's return to Lower Post in the spring which characterizes their start home in the
fall. Hunting trips, when the decision has been made to start, are always undertaken with exuberant optimism and enjoyment. Less eagerness marks the start of a trap line tour. There is a commonly expressed attitude of disdain for "sitting one place all the time like white man." Any prolonged camping in one spot quickly becomes tiresome and dull. This ennui is manifested in several ways. People complain of how much it is costing them to live in town; a man remembers that soon the bull moose will begin to run and lose his fat, hence the time to get meat is running short; somebody else expresses pity for the "starving" dogs who need fish and meat. Often the decision to move is made with little warning. One day may be spent finishing new dog packs or belatedly buying supplies, and the next morning the eager barking of the dogs gives notice that the family is off.

167 Despite the frequency of travel, families seldom move solely for pleasure and rarely go
484 beyond the limits of the tribal district except to visit the trading post. A man's youth is
ideally a time for wider travel but such longer journeys never succeed in permanently luring a man from the Kaska area. As Nitla explained it, people in a strange place are apt to become lonesome for their country and this homesickness takes considerable time to wear off. Before it has had a chance to disappear, the youth has started back to his people.

FOOD, DRINK, AND INDULGENCE

262 Few Indians, except possibly some members of the Frances Lake tribe, any longer strive
251 to maintain themselves primarily on game and fish. Although meat and fish are of both
gustatory and economic importance, they are not in themselves depended on for subsistence,
221 survival being closely bound up with the foodstuffs supplied by white traders. In winter
when the Indians are far from the trading post and heavily dependent on the goods which were transported in the fall, an adequate supply of food is an indispensable guarantee against hunger anxiety. Food also has capital value. A sufficient stock of accumulated foodstuffs means that, once the trapping season opens, time and effort can be concentrated in the business of getting skins rather than diffused between hunting and trapping. Hunting is ideally to be pursued in autumn, not only because at that time game is fat from rich summer living, but because then time is available for this activity and the meat obtained will allow purchased provisions to stretch through the winter. Fishing in late summer and fall is of similar economic importance. These reasons explain in part the strong emotion which
[435] Indians invest in a supply of things to eat. They also help to demonstrate why the value
of food in Kaska society is comparable to that of money in our own.

262 The Kaska refer to two kinds of food, meat and "grub." Meat categorically includes fish
and any game animals or fowl killed for eating. Grub designates any food purchased from
● [196] the traders, including flour, rice, canned meat, and fruit. Each family is expected to supply

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[29] See also the discussion of linguistic fluency, below, p. 198.

621 are unsatisfied. Thus, referring to the impending visit of the forestry inspector from White-
183 horse, Edward Prince once remarked that everything has a boss: "People have boss, game have boss, even stick [that is, timber] have boss!" To understand the attitudes of the Indian toward governmental authority, the significance of that word, "boss," must be thoroughly understood.

183 621 Within the native community, no man can exercise absolute power over any other adult. Parents are "boss their children," and it is even said that a man is "boss his wife," but the authority of these roles is not arbitrary and rarely abused. Furthermore, between adults authority has no meaning. An individual responds to the originations of another individual only when he stands to gain by such submission or when he cannot tactfully refuse agreement without endangering the harmony of his relationship to the other person. Obedience of an adult to the originations of another member of the Indian community never occurs because the originator possesses a status which of itself requires submission. Between Indians of equal status, that is, of relatively the same degree of maturity and of the same sex, a thorough-going laissez faire prevails. Considered by itself, the Indian community is an atomistic society in which every adult claims autonomy and independence. For example, Old Man once sent a message to his neighbor, Louis Maza, asking the latter to join him in a moose hunt. Louis went on the hunt but almost immediately decided to turn back, because he was worried about his infant son's health. When apprised of this decision, Old Man said in effect: "It's up to you. I'm an old man and I can't see to shoot moose. I hoped we would hunt together but you do what's right. It's up to you." These last words, "Up to you," are frequently heard when adults discuss plans and come to a disagreement. A person with richer experience may state his reasons for disapproving of a projected course of action, but if a younger man does not choose to heed the advice, the matter will usually be dropped. Obviously there are men who try to make their will prevail, who are dominant and assertive. Such men may hold authority within a group of brothers and their wives, but throughout the rest of the community they are generally disliked.

183 The English verb, "to boss," is used by the Kaska with two different connotations.
● [196] When used in the sense of exerting authority it often connotes criticism or disapproval. In its wider meaning, however, the term denotes the right and ability to order and care for an
657 object, animal, place, or person. Usually, as we have indicated, government is conceived of as a boss in the first sense, as a meddling and bothersome authority whose sovereignty is sometimes even branded as illegitimate. Thus Old Koon complained vigorously that the governments did not help the Indians. He denied governmental sovereignty over the area, and referred to the legitimate authority of a Ground Boss who would someday soon come to regain his dominion. No Indian admits or accepts the authority of a government to censor his drinking. Such authority is perceived as presumptuous and autocratic. In terms of the prevailing stresses of Kaska social life, it is almost inevitable that any activities of the Dominion and local governments in pursuit of their regulative functions should be resented and productive of anxiety. This situation was especially aggravated during the summer of 1945, when reports reached Lower Post that a wire fence had been erected around the Tahltan Indian Reserve at Telegraph Creek, 150 miles south of Lower Post. Although the ostensible reason for the fence was to demarcate Indian lands and protect